

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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R 150921Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 589

SECDEF/WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

USNMR/SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9441

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: MEETING OF AD HOC GROUP NOV. 13

1. SUMMARY: MEETING UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF ITALIAN REP CA-  
GIATI, THE AHG ON NOV. 13 HEARD REPORTS OF BILATERAL CONTACTS  
WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE USSR, POLAND AND ROMANIA. THE SO-  
VIET REP IMPLIED THAT CONSIDERATION WAS BEING GIVEN TO PUBLISH-  
ING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL OF NOV. 8. THE POLISH REP MADE A COM-  
PARISON BETWEEN THE EXTENSIVE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS EMPLOYED BY  
THE NATO FORCES AND THE RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBERS IN THE EAST,  
STATING THAT THIS ENHANCED THE COMBAT CAPABILITY OF THE ALLIED  
SIDE. THE GROUP UNDERTOOK A FIRST READING OF THE ALLIED FRAME-  
WORK OUTLINE SUBMITTED ON PERSONAL BASIS BY UK REP AND OF A DRAFT  
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FRAMEWORK PRESENTATION SUBMITTED BY US REP ON SAME BASIS, AND

TURNED THE DRAFTS OVER TO A DRAFTING COMMITTEE WHICH IS EXPECTED TO PRESENT REVISED DRAFTS TO THE AHG NOVEMBER 15. END SUMMARY.

2. PRIOR TO REGULAR BUSINESS, THE AHG HEARD FROM BELGIAN DEP REP WILLOT ON A COUPLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS. THE AHG APPROVED THE BREAKDOWN OF CONFERENCE COSTS FIGURES TO BE PAID BY THE PARTICIPATING DELEGATIONS TO THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT (FIGURES SEPTEL).

3. MEMBERS THEN TURNED TO REPORTS OF BILATERAL MEETINGS. US REP PROVIDED A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE NOV. 12 KHLESTOV DINNER WHICH WAS ALSO ATTENDED BY THE CANADIAN AND UK REPS (TEXT IN VIENNA 9379) CALLING PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE IMPLIED SOVIET THREAT TO MAKE NOV. 8 SOVIET PROPOSAL PUBLIC UNLESS THE WESTERN SIDE MOVED TO A DISCUSSION OF SPECIFICS. IT WAS THE CONSENSUS OF THE GROUP THAT NATO SHOULD BE ADVISED OF THE INCREASED POSSIBILITY OF DISCLOSURE AND THAT ALLIED PRESS GUIDANCE SHOULD BE FURTHER REFINED FOR THIS CONTINGENCY. THE NATURE OF THE WESTERN PUBLIC REACTION WOULD DEPEND ON THE STATUS OF THE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH DETAILS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WERE REVEALED.

4. THE FRG REP REPORTED ON A DISCUSSION WITH POLISH DELEGATION ON NOV. 12. MANY OF THE SAME POINTS RAISED BY THE SOVIETS WERE MADE BY THE POLES, I.E., THE WEST SHOULD NOT PRESS THE DISPARITIES ISSUE SINCE THE WARSAW PACT COULD CITE MANY AS WELL. EUROPEAN FORCES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING. ON THIS LATTER QUESTION THE POLISH DELEGATE SAID THAT DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION IN POLAND WOULD NOT BE SATISFIED TO DELAY CUTS IN THE BUNDESWEHR. IT WAS HIS EXPECTATION THAT REDUCTIONS IN POLISH FORCES WOULD LEAD TO SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT SOME OF THE RESULTANT SAVINGS BE DEVOTED TO SUPPORT OF SOVIET FORCES, IN THE SAME WAY THAT THE US WAS ASKING FOR ADDITIONAL BURDEN SHARING. THE POLES HOPED THAT BY PARTICIPATING IN REDUCTIONS THEY COULD TO THAT EXTEND REDUCE WEAPONS IMPROVEMENTS COSTS. AN INTERESTING POINT WAS RAISED BY THE POLISH REP WITH REGARD TO EMPLOYMENT OF CIVILIANS BY THE MILITARY FORCES. HE ASSERTED THE FACT THAT THE BUNDESWEHR EMPLOYED 173,000 CIVILIANS (A CORRECT FIGURE) MEANT THAT GERMAN FORCES WERE TRULY HIGHLY COMBAT ORIENTED, WHEREAS THE POLISH ARMY HAD ONLY 2-3 PERCENT CIVILIAN EQUIVALENTS. THIS MEANT THAT A MUCH HIGHER PROPORTION OF POLISH MILITARY PERSONNEL WAS DEVOTED TO SUPPLY AND MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES. THE POLE ALSO

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REFERRED TO THE GREAT NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS EMPLOYED BY THE US AND UK FORCES IN GERMANY.

5. THE GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) INFORMED THE GROUP OF HIS MEETING WITH THE ROMANIAN DELEGATE, WHO SAID HE WOULD IN A LATER PLENARY STATEMENT BRING OUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DISPOSITION OF WITHDRAWN FORCES AND UNDIMINISHED SECURITY. THE ROMANIAN SAID HE WAS IMPRESSED BY THE US STATEMENT OF NOV. 13. HE ASSERTED THAT

IT WAS MORE FLEXIBLE AND CLOSER TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL THAN HE HAD EXPECTED.

6. THE BELGIAN DEP REP REPORTED POLISH REP STRULAK'S DISMAY THAT THE WESTERN STATEMENTS OF NOV. 13 HAD TAKEN NO COGNIZANCE OF THE NOV. 8 EASTERN PROPOSAL. WILLOT NOTED THAT IN VARIOUS CONVERSATIONS, WP DELEGATES HAD APPEARED UNEASY OVER THE ALLIED ASSERTIONS ON DISPARITIES; HE CONCLUDED THAT THIS TOPIC WAS GIVING THEM TROUBLE AND PERHAPS THE ALLIES SHOULD PRESS THE ISSUE. WILLOT ALSO RECOMMENDED A REBUTTAL TO THE WP CLAIM THAT EXISTING FORCE RELATIONSHIPS HAD KEPT THE PEACE BY SAYING THAT THE ABSENCE OF WAR WAS NOT A SATISFACTORY SITUATION. FRG REP BEHRENDT AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD PURSUE THE DISPARITIES THEME. BEHRENDT BELIEVED HIS CASE FOR LIMITING REDUCTIONS TO GROUND FORCES HAD SOME IMPACT ON THE POLES.

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R 150921Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 590

SECDEF/WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

USNMR/SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 9441

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. UK REP ROSE SAID HE HAD ASKED SOVIET DEP REP SMIRNOVSKY FOR THE FIGURES ON WHICH SOVIET PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS WERE BASED. THE LATTER REPLIED THAT THESE WERE BEING WITHHELD BY THE SOVIET MILITARY. ROSE DEDUCED THAT THE ALLIES PERHAPS SHOULD PRESS FORWARD WITH DATA SINCE IT WAS UNLIKELY THE EASTERN SIDE WOULD BE ABLE TO COUNTER WITH FIGURES. THE BRITISH DELEGATION WOULD PRESENT A DRAFT TO THE AHG CONTAINING DATA FOR POSSIBLE USE EITHER PRIOR TO, OR CONCURRENTLY WITH, PRESENTATION OF THE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL. HE INTENDED TO EMPLOY THE NGA DATA AGREED BY NATO ON US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, NATO AND WARSAW PACT AGGREGATES, AND TANKS. AS A FOOTNOTE, THE BRITISH REP SAID THE SOVIETS HAD SPOKEN IN TERMS OF THREE WEEK CHRISTMAS BREAK BEGINNING DECEMBER 15.

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8. THE AGH THEN TURNED TO THE INITIAL DRAFT OF THE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL CIRCULATED BY THE US (VIENNA 9285) ON PERSONAL INFORMAL BASIS. US REP TOLD GROUP THAT HE WAS CIRCULATING DRAFT ON PERSONAL INFORMAL BASIS TO GET DISCUSSION STARTED IN VIEW OF TIME PRESSURES, PARTICULARLY POSSIBILITY SOVIETS MIGHT PUBLISH THEIR DRAFT. (COMMENT: AND ALSO TO FORESTALL TABLING OF DRAFTS BY OTHER DELS OR SOLE FOCUS BY GROUP ON UK OUTLINE, WHICH WE CONSIDER FOLLOWS LESS PRODUCTIVE LINE.) HE POINTED OUT THAT DRAFT HAD NOT BEEN APPROVED BY WASHINGTON AND THAT HE EXPECTED INSTRUCTIONS ON IT SOON. THESE PROVISOS SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND IN DISCUSSING DRAFT. AFTER DISCUSSION, IT WAS CONCLUDED THAT THE AHG SHOULD ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DRAFTING BUT, FOLLOWING APPROVAL BY GOVERNMENTS, DRAFT SHOULD BE SUBMITTED FOR FINAL APPROVAL.

9. THE US REP OUTLINED THE CONCEPT EMPLOYED IN INFORMAL US DRAFT, I.E., TO LAY OUT THE PROBLEM OF DISPARITIES, AND THEN TO PROVIDE THE SOLUTION. THE US DELEGATION HAD CLOSELY FOLLOWED NATO LANGUAGE FOR EASE IN NAC APPROVAL. HE NOTED THAT THE GENERALIZED TREATMENT ACCORDED STABILIZING MEASURES WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE ABSENCE OF A NATO POSITION, POINTING OUT THAT WASHINGTON HAD JUST TABLED PAPER ON THIS SUBJECT AT NATO.

10. UK REP ARGUED STRONGLY FOR PRESENTING THE SUMMARY (PARA 22 REFTTEL) AS A SEPARATE MEMORANDUM, NOT TO BE READ BY THE ALLIED SPOKESMAN BUT TABLED AS THE ALLIED PROPOSAL. THIS WAS SUPPORTED BY THE FRG. ITALINA REP SUGGESTED THE USE IN PARA 15 OF THE REDUCTION DATA FOR US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, SINCE THE DISPARITY IN NUMBERS REDUCED WAS SO MANIFEST. US REP SAID FOCUS SHOULD BE ON TANKS ONLY. FRG REP ALSO REQUESTED A MORE SUBSTANTIAL COMMITMENT TO PHASE II OF MBFR AND THE COMMON CEILING; IN THIS HE WAS SUPPORTED BY NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES AND BELGIAN ACTING REP. NETHERLANDS, GREEK, AND NORWEGINA REPS ALSO MADE A CASE FOR INCLUDING MATERIAL CONSTRAINTS ON WITHDRAWN FORCES WITH THE WESTERN MILI-

TARY DISTRICTS OF THE USSR IN MIND. US REP SAID IT WOULD NOT BE FEASIBLE TO EXCEED AGREED NATO MANDATE. FOLLOWING THIS ROUND OF COMMENTS, THE AHG REMANDED THE FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL DRAFT TO A WORKING GROUP WHICH WAS REQUESTED TO PRESENT A FRESH DRAFT TO THE AHG NOVEMBER 15.

11. NEXT, THE AHG CONSIDERED A UK DRAFT OF A SEPARATE MEMORANDUM ON AN OUTLINE AGREEMENT. UK REP ARGUED THAT THIS PAPER COULD  
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SERVE AS A FORMAL CONTRIBUTION AND POINT OF REFERENCE, WHILE THE ACCOMPANYING STATEMENT WOULD RATIONALIZE IT AT GREATER LENGTH. HE ALSO ARGUED IT WOULD BE SUITABLE FOR PUBLIC RELEASE, IF THIS BECOMES NECESSARY, THROUGH PUBLICATION OF SOVIET PROPOSAL. US DEP REP SAID GROUP COULD LOOK AT UK DRAFT BUT SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT ALLIES MIGHT HAVE TO PLACE THEIR REAL RELIANCE ON THEIR PLENARY STATEMENT. TO TABLE A WEAK INITIATION OF THE SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT WOULD BE WORSE THAN TABLING NO SUCH PAPER AND MIGHT DETRACT FROM IMPACT OF ALLIED PLENARY STATEMENT. IN INITIAL COMMENTS, THE GERMAN REP REPEATEDLY STATED HIS PREFERENCE FOR THE TREATMENT OF THE REDUCTION PROPOSALS IN PARA 22 OF THE US DRAFT FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL (VIENNA 9285), AND PARTICULARLY DESIRED GREATER SPECIFICITY IN DESCRIBING THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT AND ITS LINKAGE WITH THE SECOND STAGE. THE US REP EMPHASIZED THAT THE MEMORANDUM MUST STRESS THE FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES AT AN EARLY STAGE IN ORDER TO AVOID PROVIDING MATERIAL FOR EASTERN COUNTER-ARGUMENTS. THE GREEK AND TURKISH REPS ARGUED VOCIFEROUSLY FOR INCLUSION OF A REFERENCE TO THE PROTECTION OF THE INTERESTS OF THE FLANKS AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES, AS WELL AS PROPOSING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO MEASURES TO PRESENT REDEPLOYMENT OF WITHDRAWN SOVIET FORCES. HUMES

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